1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

a wedding, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *ute* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household. Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 42, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8), have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 836 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*hino*) because they are *tuia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*tuia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached 837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed 833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *tuia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 837 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of 822 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokoia e, to ule ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this witticism.

831 Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngaya* bush or *kotawa* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*tahapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

833 177 At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual intercourse. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *eti*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayaku, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayaku name, *yau*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *yau* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*tawnatua*) after whom the group was named. The *tawnatua* protected the members of the *yau* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *yau*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *yau* (1) is still pointed out.

833 152 In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[586 152 837] Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

581 836 Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*uia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *uia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *uia iua*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *uia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *uia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakovae*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Maliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamanga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Maliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamanga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*uoikinua*) and by the presentation of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *uukamalama*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *uouo loloi* (a talo dish), *pulaka loloi* (a *pulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kanaka*, *wauu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, sennit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *uukauvolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*lou*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *uukauvolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *uukauvolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *uukauvolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

The concept of adultery (*uukaipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

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If a married woman went from her house to sleep with another man and remained with him until daylight, she had committed adultery and belonged henceforth to her lover, for her act, called *puhi uvuna*, was tantamount to divorce. If the woman returned to her husband's house before dawn, her behavior might also be considered adultery; but it was not generally condemned, even though her husband was at liberty to whip her. A woman might obtain her husband's permission to sleep with another man, and no punishment befell her as long as she returned home before daylight. Similarly, if before going off with another woman a man told his wife where he proposed to go, and if he returned before dawn, there was no cause for divorce on grounds of adultery. If the relatives of an erring young wife liked her husband and did not wish him to drive her from his house because of her infidelity, they intimidated her with thrashings until she returned permanently to him. He might be only too glad to have her return and so would not dare to punish her himself. There is no suggestion that payment or recompense was ever exacted by the injured party from the co-respondents in any adultery case. The group of stories (1) in which adultery is the motif illustrate the variety of individual and social reactions. Today the attitude to adultery is confused through the operation of the Cook Islands' Act, under which the resident agent governs the island. This act punishes adultery defined in terms of western concepts. Much of the present-day so-called adultery on Pukapuka is committed by day by married women with single young men. Court punishment for the offense does not necessarily lead to divorce as long as the unfaithful spouse returns to her mate.

DIVORCE

Divorce (*maka*, to throw away) was easily procured in the native culture on grounds of incompatibility, specifically for adultery, cruelty, or personality conflict. A man might drive his wife from the house, or she might leave of her own accord and return to her relatives. The amount of provocation necessary for divorce depended entirely on the married couple concerned: where one might condone adultery in a spouse, another might consider this cause for divorce. Three married couples were separated during our stay on the atoll; two separations were due to alleged promiscuous behavior of the wife, the third was due to adultery on the part of the husband. Formerly, separations were equivalent to divorce, but today they are only the first steps in a tedious and (to the Pukapukan) expensive process leading to a legal divorce. One informant stated that Pukapuka is an island where women freely leave husbands (*e wawa maka tane*) and so initiate divorce. Close analysis of the records suggests that there is large measure of truth in this generalization.

Of 128 marriages of which there is record, 60 have been terminated by divorce or death: 18 of the 60 were ended by divorce; 42 by the death of one mate. Of the 18 marriages broken by divorce, 11 were childless; 7 were fecund. Though the presence of children is no bar to divorce, nevertheless it is established that the greater number of divorces occur among childless couples. Both of these conclusions are well grounded in the patterns of the society. With the extended family and the prevalence of adoption, it is an easy matter to take care of children rendered homeless by the divorce of the parents. With a premium on children to carry on the lineage, there is ground for divorce if the marriage is barren.

Of Wekeli

539 [833] The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 817 762 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ 11 Pukapuka OZ 11

159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had inter-
[833] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a
● [837] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

writhed and groaned in his agony. There was a simple-minded participation in, and re-living of, the event in which so much repressed anxiety must have been allowed freely to dissipate itself over a helpless individual who had broken immemorial rules and become the moment's scapegoat.

Other examples of spontaneous abreactions are to be found in the infrequent bloody feuds that suddenly flared up in Pukapuka and just as quickly died down again. There was no institutionalized warfare nor any socially approved method of resorting to physical violence to settle disputes between groups. Occasionally, however, feuds broke out between the older men and the young men's group. The ostensible reason for these feuds was quarrelling over food divisions acerbated by the flouting of the authority of the old men by the young adults. Several of these feuds are well documented in Pukapuka. The noteworthy thing is the manner in which what might well be termed "blood lusts" for a time ruled the community. The stronger side hunted down and killed the opposing group without mercy and without shame. Familial feelings were ruthlessly tramped on, victims of the lust, in a typical case, forced to commit suicide by allowing friends to bury them alive in deep holes, the last consolations of custom denied them. Then when the last victim was safely killed, and anger and aggression appeased, the madness appears to have died down and the group lapsed back into the comfortable security of everyday life.

Violent individual reactions to anxiety conflicts may also be mentioned. Pukapukan patterns of sex behavior are noticeably Polynesian in their freedom. Adultery today hardly concerns the people except when an individual, more progressive than the rest, takes his troubles to the Resident Agent and this official is bound to interfere according to the civil code by which the island is now nominally governed. Formerly adultery was a private matter between the parties concerned. Whether an injured husband took note of the behavior of his wife depended upon his temperament, his affection for the woman, or the fact that he was goaded beyond endurance by interfering relatives. In any case, the usual result of noticed adultery was either the dismissal of the woman from the house or else a domestic beating. Occasionally, however, an individual seems to have been forced to more drastic measures, not by the flagrancy of the offense, but by intense anxiety in his own mind. The account of Kupenga illustrates this:

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day
and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained
● 837 to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy.
His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came
crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs,
exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched
apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her
remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that
had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te
Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie
her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men
were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling
for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of
Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking
on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to
Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the
heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife.
They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she
was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor
rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died
and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great
that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community
158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting
to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would
pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of
the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his
reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There
was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a
senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no